

BRIDGING THE GAP BETWEEN RESEARCH AND ADVOCACY¹

CAROL L. GLASSER²
HUMANE RESEARCH COUNCIL

NOTE: This is a working paper. Parts of this manuscript may appear in other publications. Some of this paper will appear in a Critical Animal Studies Reader, edited by Nocella and Sorenson (forthcoming). All suggestions and comments to improve this paper are welcome and should be sent to the author.

I am in the business of research. I am also in the business of animal advocacy. From my perspective, these activities are complementary, each informing and improving the other; they are symbiotic activities on a path toward animal liberation – meaning an end to animal suffering caused by humans. Researchers and academics have access to training, experience and tools that will let them answer important questions for animal advocates, such as: what are cultural attitudes toward animal practices; how many animals are used in different industries; and what are the links between animal abuse and human social problems? Animal advocates can tap into this research to inform campaigns, improve messages and materials, and better understand the challenges they face. Furthermore, advocates can enlist the help of researchers as they develop materials that should change public perception or to evaluate the effectiveness of the work that they are doing on behalf of other animals.

Unfortunately, academics are not widely producing work that is of use to advocates. Furthermore, advocates are not accessing the research that is crucial to improving their effectiveness. This issue is two-fold. Researchers and academics need to make their work useful, available, and understandable to advocates. This is

¹ This paper is intended to address a problem among both researchers/academics and advocates/activists. While the paper is intended to be read in full, some may be turning to this as a resource to quickly get practical information. If the entire paper is not of interest, researchers wanting to get ideas about how to make research more applicable to activists should focus on pages 1-13. Advocates wanting to learn why and when research is useful should focus on pages 14 onward; for more information and a list of research-related resources, turn to the Appendix: Research Resources for Advocates (page 21).

² Carol L. Glasser, Research Director, Humane Research Council. Contact: cglasser@humanersearch.org

arguably the bigger issue, and where the most work must be done. At the same time, advocates need to do more to inform their campaigns and use tactics and materials that are proven to effect change. This paper will discuss both issues and identify concrete ways that both researchers and advocates might work to ameliorate these problems. Further, this paper addresses the ways that these groups can learn from each other. The way that advocates organize has much to teach academics, and advocates can learn from the ways that academics share knowledge and address problems.

PRAXIS

To ameliorate both the lack of research directed toward advocacy and the often esoteric and inaccessible research, we need a clear line of praxis. Praxis is theory in action. The need for praxis has long been recognized; theorists as early as Aristotle discussed the way that theory can become actualized or enacted in practice. The work of Karl Marx is exemplar of praxis, as theory-building for Marx was intended exclusively to inform action. In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (2006 [1970]: 51), Paulo Friere highlights the need for praxis in order for humans to truly be free from oppression:

Functionally, oppression is domesticating. To no longer be prey to its force, one must emerge from it and turn upon it. This can be done only by means of the praxis: reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it.

Friere's definition of praxis is inspirational; nonetheless, action and theory rarely work in concert. Until action is guided by theory-building and research, transforming the world into a place tolerable to the currently exploited masses of other animals will be a slow and difficult process.

The act of reflecting upon the world in a manner that incorporates animal others has been taken up by scholars to a minimal degree. In 1987 the journal *Anthrozoos* was launched, marking the beginning of the field of Human Animal Studies (HAS) (Shapiro, 2008: 7). HAS is focused on the relationships between

humans and other animals, taking the role of other animals seriously, rather than just focusing on what they can provide to humans. Since its inception, the field of HAS has grown exponentially (Best, 2009; Shapiro 2008). Critical Animal Studies (CAS), as developed and imagined by Steven Best and Anthony Nocella, pushes HAS to a point of praxis (my words, not theirs). They argue that the role of animal studies is not just to examine animals in a respectful way, but to make those studies deliberately useful to the struggle for animal liberation and liberation from all oppression (see Best et al., 2007 for a list of the 10 tenants of CAS).

If some research is already available and there are researchers willing to study “animal issues,” why are advocates without the research they need? The problem lies on both sides of the equation. Academics and researchers are not getting the necessary research to advocates, due to what I call the Ivory Trap, and advocates are not seeking out or utilizing research in their campaigns, due to a lack of training and organization.

THE IVORY TRAP

The reason that most academic work does not reach the masses in a manner that can lead to revolutionary or even incremental change is due in a large part to the confines of academia. In the field of HAS and CAS, many researchers and academics have acknowledged the subjective nature of research and have worked to investigate topics that reflect their moral convictions and activist identities. However, as with much research, the knowledge we gain as scholars often remains locked in our ivory towers because it is inaccessible to animal advocates; either because they don’t know it is there, find it too complicated or esoteric to engage with, or simply cannot access it without being embedded in academic environments that provide database access and assistance through libraries. At the same time, scholars often seem confined by an ivory cage—limited perhaps by the ideological constraints of the academy or by the likely marginalization of their work—and are not very often asking questions that have direct relevance “on the ground” for the animal advocacy movement.

The idea that research needs to be accessible to advocacy is not new. Like animal studies, several other disciplines orient themselves around a topical issue,

rather than a set of theories and methodologies, including African American Studies, Women's Studies, and Latino studies, among others (see Shapiro 2008). Within these fields, this need has been addressed by some critical academics. bell hooks actively critiqued feminist philosophers and institutions in the early 1980s for their esoteric nature and inaccessibility to the masses. She too made an explicit call for praxis, as Friere defined it. hooks identified a "tug-of-war" between activists [sic], who identify education and theory with "bourgeois privilege," and intellectuals, who create knowledge without a clear practical focus:

This tug-of-war has lead to the formation of a false dichotomy between theory (the development of ideas) and practice (the actions of the movement)...As a consequence, there is often little congruity between feminist theory and feminist practice...From the onset, women' liberation movement participants have struggled to unite theory and practice, to create a libratory feminist praxis...That struggle has been undermined by anti-intellectualism and by elitist academics who believe their "ideas" need not have any connection to real life (1984 [1990]: 113-144).

The problem of inaccessibility to research is the problem of the Ivory Tower, which serves as a barrier to those without the desire or socioeconomic status to gain admittance to postsecondary educational institutions. As of 2000, only 31% of U.S. citizens had an Associates degree or higher (U.S. Census Bureau, 2003). Though one need not attend college to know how to conduct research, and not all college graduates are adequate researchers, college is the most common way to come into contact with information about how to do research and what research is available. Even those that have attended college are often locked out of collegiate institutions after receiving their degree. College libraries provide access to journal article databases, where much academic research is published, and are also more likely to purchase research anthologies not available at local libraries.

Finally, there is an issue of comprehension. Academic language is often field-specific, filled with jargon, and sophisticated. It may be difficult for a trained person to understand, much less the average person not trained in the field of interest. This means that even when conferences, articles, and books are available to advocates, they can still be so difficult to understand they remain inaccessible. Academic language is developed as part of the method of establishing credentials and creating clear signals to identify disciplinary insiders. However, this sort of semantic gesturing is useless if the point of research is praxis.

Just as the Ivory Tower works to keep advocates out, there is an Ivory Cage that keeps researchers and academics locked in to institutional, disciplinary, and professional norms. One of the main ways that academics are locked in is through ideological constraints put in place by what I label “the fallacy of objectivity” and “methodological hierarchies.”

There is a privileging of “objectivity,” which is seen as the opposite of subjectivity. Therefore it is often deemed unwise or inappropriate for people to study movements in which they are involved, for fear they will not be objective enough. In reality, all research is subjective and objectivity is essentially non-existent. The pursuits of the disciplines that are considered more prestigious are erroneously viewed as objective. However, researchers have their own biases as to what is an interesting or important topic, which in turn makes even the most technical and mainstream research biased by the questions being asked. Further, research is constrained by the current paradigm in a disciplinary field and the methodological and theoretic thinking in a field is influenced by current social and institutional understandings and practices.³

Researchers need to acknowledge and embrace the subjective nature of all research so that they can utilize their biases to their advantage. A researcher who understands his or her subjective bias can choose a topic s/he will work on passionately and can be sure to develop a research question for which, whatever the answer is, s/he will be interested in reporting the results. For example, a HAS or CAS

³ See Kuhn 1962 for more on research paradigms.

scholar should not ask, “Which is better at reducing feral cat populations, T-N-R (Trap-Neuter-Release) or euthanasia?” One of these answers is against the grain of the scholar’s work and values and is not actually addressing the problem of saving animals lives. Rather, s/he should ask, “In what circumstances is T-N-R most effective at reducing feral cat populations?” or “What other effective population reduction programs (such as fostering and no-kill shelters) can be combined with T-N-R to reduce feral and homeless cat populations?” The latter questions will illicit responses that unveil the circumstances under which T-N-R programs are successful and how they can improve; they will also provide raw data for shelters and advocacy groups to use when applying for grants or pushing for legislative change. No matter what the researcher learns, posing the right question ensures that the results will be of value to other animals and their advocates.

The premise of objectivity leads to some methods being considered more prestigious. This creates a methodological hierarchy that places more confidence and value in numeric and technical data over data gained through observation or conversation. The pursuit of hard sciences and quantifiable phenomenon is prioritized over venturing into the “messy” world of case-specific studies in current periods of turmoil. However, what is needed to make research applicable to advocacy is to do research that speaks to the world “out there,” as it is happening now, even if that world is messier and less controlled than life in a laboratory and may require methods that are not amenable to numeric observation.

The ivory cage is also maintained by the threat or experience of professional marginalization. Social hierarchies in the larger culture are reflected in the privileging of different academic topics of study such that some social justice issues and topics of research are marginalized in academia. For example, women’s, minority, and disability studies are not as well supported – often having all faculty members cross-listed in other departments. Also, work in these areas often can’t get into the “major” discipline journals, so a wide academic audience never reads their work or is exposed to their ideas. All of this is particularly true for HAS and CAS, which don’t even have the privilege of being their own department, and are not even offered as a minor in most universities and colleges.

Finally, academia accepts and even encourages producing knowledge for the sake of knowledge, and there is no incentive to ask research questions of relevance to current social justice issues. In fact, the hurdles of engaging in research that might be deemed subjective actually discourage theory aimed at praxis in favor of research for the sake of research. According to Best et al. (2007), one of the 10 main principles of CAS argues firmly against this practice:

[CAS] Eschews narrow academic viewpoints and the debilitating theory-for-theory's sake position in order to link theory to practice, analysis to politics, and the academy to the community.

In short, what researchers need to do is to work to avoid being pedantic in favor of being pragmatic.

It is not enough to highlight the issue of the Ivory Trap. Rather, I will need to identify ways to open the tower's doors and unlock its cages for this essay to fulfill the call for moving toward praxis. To move beyond theory, I will provide some examples of how intellectuals might help break down the barriers that keep theory and action dichotomous constructs, rather than harmonious steps in the process of social justice and animal liberation.

IMPROVING ACCESSIBILITY

Ideas alone cannot lead to animal liberation. Before any research or idea will lend itself to action, people must have access to it. Praxis is not possible if a barrier remains between theory and research inside of the ivory tower and action out on the street. While advocates can learn to access research, it is the researchers who are in the position of privilege and the onus is on them to be willing to share their work and to actively engage in and create ways to do so. Once a researcher has asked a useful research question and conducted the research, it is now his or her responsibility to ensure it can be accessed by advocates. The way to achieve this is by using clear language and making their work available and affordable.

Dual Publications. The most affordable research is free, and there are a number of ways to make research available and accessible to advocates. One way is by producing dual publications. As hooks suggests:

All too often, educators, especially university professors, fear their work will not be valued by other academics if it is presented in a way that makes it accessible to a wider audience. If these educators thought of rendering their work in a number of different styles, “translations,” they would be able to satisfy arbitrary academic standards while making their work available to masses of people (hooks, 2000 [1984]: 112).

Academics can continue to write in the technical language of the academy while also writing up results for advocates. This solution allows scholars to stay within the linguistic confines of the ivory cage, but also to reproduce the work so that others can access it. Further, these secondary publications can be produced in multiple formats, not all of which rely on the written word. Research can be presented in blogs, news articles, ‘zines, YouTube videos, pamphlets, conferences, or on live Internet chats.

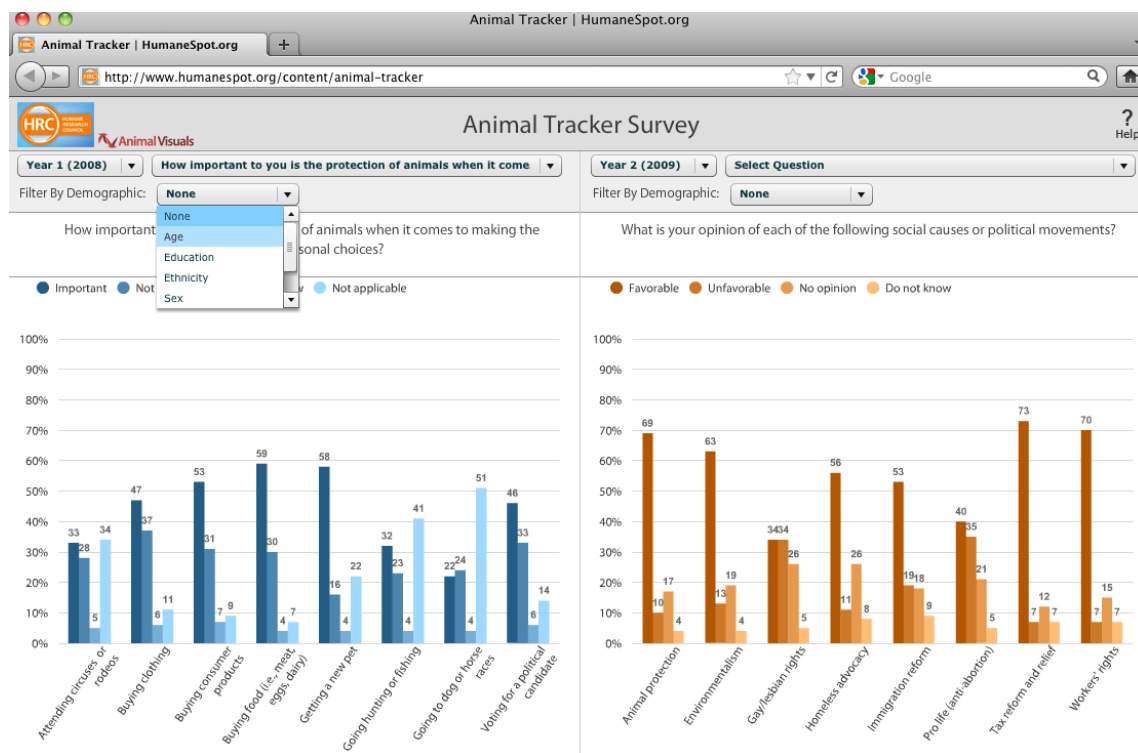
One scholar who serves as an example is Breeze A. Harper. Harper began the Sistah Vegan project and her scholarship lies in critical race and critical vegan studies. She not only produces academic work, but she posts articles on the blogs Sistah Vegan and Vegans of Color, which reach a wider audience that includes animal advocates. In addition, she produces and posts YouTube videos on these blogs as well as on relevant Facebook pages. The video content includes discussions of her research and she also makes the talks she gives at various venues available in this video format. The videos reach beyond the written word, making her work more accessible to those who for whom listening is easier than reading. Harper has also edited an anthology, *The Sistah Vegan Project* (2010), which collects the work of many others on the topic of race, gender, and veganism. Though they are rarely free, books are another way that scholars can make research more accessible.

Publication Format. Books are easier to publish in accessible language than peer reviewed journal articles. Books are not always as big of a payoff for academics as they take longer and may slow publication pace, but they are easier reading for most people and can eventually be obtained at a public library. A number of recent books demonstrate how the format can get information into the hands of advocates in an interpretable manner. For example, *Muzzling a Movement* (2010) by Dara Lovitz, brought the world of legal research into a readable format, allowing all the non-legal scholars among us to understand the implications of the Animal Enterprise Terrorist Act. Scholars can also seek out journals and book publishers that utilize an open-access publishing format, which allow people to view content online free-of-charge.

Non-profit business models. Non-profit business models can also be used to fund and publish animal-specific work so that academics have a home for their HAS and CAS research, and advocates can access it. A number of research-oriented organizations are doing this now, and researchers should utilize them and work with them to their fullest extent. Currently, the Animals & Society Institute (ASI) and the Institute for Critical Animal Studies (ICAS) serve as homes to researchers doing work for animals and their advocates. They each have a journal, organize conferences, and run message boards and email lists for academics to communicate about their research. The journals they run are peer-reviewed, but operate on a non-profit model so that articles can be accessed by anyone for free. Academics can utilize these venues, or other open access journals, for publishing their work to ensure others will access it. The Humane Research Council (HRC) is another non-profit that produces original research as well as making the research of others available to animal advocates. HRC follows the lead of think tanks, working to produce data sets and surveys of use to both advocates and academics, providing a database of animal-related research, and producing reports that directly inform advocacy.

Internet. The Internet is perhaps the greatest tool to make research accessible for free. As previously discussed, blogs, articles, research, and videos can all be posted online and viewable to anyone with Internet access. The Internet can

also be used creatively to let advocates engage in research in the way that it will best serve their needs. For example, some resources are now allowing advocates to access datasets and request specific information. For example, the Humane Research Council has a resource, the Animal Tracker Visualization Tool, which allows advocates to access all of HRC's annual survey data. Advocates can choose which survey question they would like to see responses for, and responses are displayed immediately in a graph. Results can be broken down by demographic characteristics including age, sex, education, ethnicity and whether or not respondents have companion animals in the household. Two graphs are laid side-by-side so that advocates and scholars can select and compare different years and demographic segments. This tool can help users quickly understand social attitudes toward various animal protection issues.



IMPROVING APPLICABILITY

Research should provide information in areas where advocates lack basic research or should address other issues of relevance to the oppressed or their advocates. There are a lot of topics on which animal advocates simply have no data.

For example, in the animal protection movement, there is little to no data regarding the number of animals dying in shelters, how many animals are currently in zoos and circuses, or the reasons that people choose to become vegan.

For advocates to convince others that these are real issues, basic research is needed as a foundation. Some research has accomplished this, but it is minimal. For example, one study's authors set out to examine links between slaughterhouse work and violence against humans. Controlling for factors that typically affect arrest rates, Amy Fitzgerald, Linda Kalof, and Thomas Dietz (2009) compared the slaughterhouse industry to other major industries and found that slaughterhouse employment increases total arrests and arrests for rape, other sex offenses, and other violent crimes. This study shows a clear link between violence against animals and violence against humans, allowing advocates to safely and accurately say that normalized violence against animals negatively impacts human society.

More work like Fitzgerald, Kalof and Dietz's is necessary. In some areas, research is needed just to begin measuring the basic dimensions of a problem. For example, there is no centralized or enforced system of data collection at animal shelters and many shelters do not collect information on intake or rates of killing and adoption. Two projects, one by ANIMAL PEOPLE and the other called the Shelter Population Index, survey shelters that do collect data and use statistics to extrapolate and estimate how many animals are taken in and how many are euthanized by shelters each year. However, no such work is being done to estimate the use of animals in circuses or laboratories. Even though much of this is due to animal exploitation industries refusing to release records, it is up to the researchers to create ways to estimate and extrapolate this information.

Asking basic research questions to accumulate knowledge about topics that have been ignored, and looking to those who need the research to determine what research questions to ask, will generate praxis by leading to pragmatic topics of research. Pragmatic topics of research will do at least one of the following: directly help a disadvantaged population, enable the development or improvement of social justice programs, improve advocacy, and/or empower advocates.

Directly helping a disadvantaged population. It takes nothing short of turning on the TV or computer or reading a newspaper to flood one's mind with the myriad social justice issues that exist. This alone should propel research. The end goal should be to help advocates or the disadvantaged, not to forward a career. People who care about animals have a variety of skills that can help the animals themselves and the people who advocate for them. For example, a psychologist interested in animal equality could deliberately study something that can benefit animals directly—such as the effects of normalized violence against animals, including meat-eating or horse racing, to learn the processes that one goes through to engage in these behaviors. Such research can help advocates develop effective campaigns to stop those abuses.

A clear example of this type of research is the Food Empowerment Project. The project involved surveying low- and upper- income residents and Santa Clara County, California, about their access to food. The Humane Research Council designed the study and then trained volunteers to administer surveys and collect data. The results were analyzed and published in a free report. Findings indicated disparities in access to affordable healthy food based on income, race, and other factors; the results are now being used directly to implement political and social changes in that county to ameliorate the problems uncovered by the study.

Developing and evaluating current programs and campaigns. Animal protection groups often institute or push for programs that they believe are helping animals, but do not actually **know** if they are. Any large company that begins a new program or develops a new marketing campaign will keep close track of how they do and the overall effect. However, animal advocacy groups often lack the funding, resources, or knowledge to do this. Or, even worse, they are convinced that their campaigns are helpful without any evidence of their claim. Researchers can assist animal advocates by making new programs the center of a research case study. They may also volunteer their time to help evaluate and analyze programs and campaigns, for example by designing questionnaires or conducting and analyzing interviews to measure program reception and effectiveness.

LEARNING FROM EACH OTHER

Academics can also assume a role of student to the advocate. Advocacy and organizing in the animal protection movement can inform research practices in a number of fruitful ways. As has already been discussed, one of academia's shortcomings is that there is more emphasis on speaking to a discipline than working for the oppressed or their advocates. This leads to focusing on issues that may not be of immediate importance. Advocates, however, are in the business of dealing with real-world issues that are almost always of immediate importance.

Another way that academics can learn from advocates is by using collaborative models of research and knowledge production. Academia and research is often a one-person job whereas many activists work in groups and coalitions. More coauthored work can make research more dynamic; collaborative research can help to build work that transverses different social movement fields and workgroups can help for the general advancement of a field by providing a supportive community to help critically evaluate research.

Finally, it is important for academics to decide what effect or purpose they want their research to have. To move to a model of praxis, the idea that any research question is adequate is not acceptable. Rather, the researcher needs to begin to ask who will use the research and what void it will fill for animals and their advocates. Academics need to decide if their work will evaluate policy, contribute to knowledge on an issue, or inform advocacy strategy. Instead of asking, "What is the research question," academics must ask, "What do animal advocates need to know and how can it help animals?"

To come full circle, and have a true system of praxis, researchers and advocates must speak to and learn from each other. Just as academics and researchers should turn to advocates to improve their practices, so should advocates turn to academics. To ensure the proposed research has an effect, advocates must actually use it. Academics are skilled at accessing, creating, and managing knowledge, so advocates should mimic the practices of academics to improve their work for animals.

RESEARCH FOR ADVOCATES—WHEN AND HOW TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

One of the major hurdles for advocates is the immediacy of their campaigns. The changes advocates seek to fix are often life-or-death issues, with lives being lost every minute their campaign fails to succeed. It is often difficult, when working under such constraints of immediacy, to recognize the value of reading a research study, or even to debate the wording on a flyer. However, beginning with simple steps like this can do much to make a campaign more successful in a lesser amount of time.

What has already been done? Any time an academic produces a study for publication, they engage in a literature review. The literature review is a summary of all existing research and theory that speaks to and informs the topic of their study. Advocates must do the same to avoid reinventing the wheel. It hurts the animal protection movement to have people spending time starting from scratch to develop campaign materials and strategies.

Research to identify other campaigns that are addressing the issue—and if they have been successful, are ongoing, or have stopped—gives advocates a better starting place. The organizers or organizations of these campaigns should be contacted and will likely share their experiences, successes and failures to help improve subsequent campaigns. Further, there might already be literature or other materials that are shown to be effective, which can save advocates a lot of time and energy.

There might also exist laws or regulations that already ban or limit the practice an advocate is opposing. There are few legal or institutional regulations surrounding non-human animals, as that is considered in many settings to be a less pressing issue. Therefore advocates need to do this research themselves to determine if there might be a quick way to “win” a campaign and help animals. Even if the regulations don’t ban a practice, they might have regulations or fines that when applied will discourage further engagement in the practice.

Basic Research. Advocates *must* learn to do research. There are a number of types of research that can and should be engaged in before beginning a campaign or developing outreach materials, including basic research, research into attitudes and behaviors, understanding segmentation, and campaign evaluation. Every organization needs to conduct basic research so that s/he knows the issues s/he is discussing. There is nothing less effective than an advocate who can't answer the questions posed by potentially sympathetic individuals. Further, when advocates give erroneous information, it diminishes their credibility. Think of campaigns against puppy mills in which people are doing outreach outside of a pet store by handing out fliers and talking to folks. An advocate should know facts about how many animals die in shelters, abuses that occur in puppy mills, where that store purchases its puppies, the prevalence of health issues among puppy mill puppies, and where there are animal shelters and breed-specific rescues in the area. This will give the advocate intelligent rebuttals to arguments for buying bred dogs, to demonstrate expertise on the issue, and to provide follow-up information for individuals willing to change their behaviors and adopt rather than buy dogs.

Attitudes and Behaviors. Research into prevalent attitudes and behaviors is also very important. Animal advocates are not average people; they have a unique perspective about the roles of and relationships between humans and other animals. As such, it is not possible for an advocate to accurately know what the “average” person thinks of an issue. It is difficult to convince someone to change their attitudes or behaviors if you don't understand from where they are starting.

Understanding *attitudes* toward issues is of importance so advocates know in what areas education is most needed. For example, if advocates want to promote substituting animal flesh with other proteins and faux meat products, it is important to understand what objections people have to meat substitutes—are the concerns centered on health, taste, cost, accessibility, or social acceptability? If an advocate knows the answer, s/he can preemptively address them in literature and can highlight the most important issues at the forefront of conversations.

For the same reasons, *behaviors* must also be researched. An advocate will know how to better focus a campaign if s/he understands what behaviors are

common. For example, if someone wants to campaign against hunting, knowing what is more prevalent in her or his region can help direct the campaign. The language of bow hunting differs from that of hunting with firearms, as do the animals that are targeted and the potential human risks. The issues that advocates highlight when talking to community members will likely differ based on hunting practices; if an advocate speaks to people from a place of knowledge, s/he will more likely be accepted as legitimate.

The most comprehensive source for animal advocates to get this information in one place is HumaneSpot.org, which has a research database of academic, industry, marketing and media reports and surveys addressing attitudes, behaviors and trends relating to animal protection issues. Other basic research includes understanding how to best promote an issue. There is myriad research on marketing and the psychology of changing people's attitudes. Advocates should tap into this. *Change of Heart* (2011) by Nick Cooney is a wonderful example of one book that consolidates and analyzes social psychology research that has direct implications for social justice advocates.

Segmentation. Research is also necessary to segment attitudes and behaviors. Segmentation refers to the way that attitudes, behaviors, and experiences vary on average by different socio-demographic characteristics, such as age, gender, ethnicity, level of education, region of the country, nationality, political orientation, etc. The gender imbalance among vegetarians and vegans—there are many more women than men (Lowe and Ginsberg, 2002; Plous, 1991)—clearly demonstrates the way that certain issues resonate differently among different groups of people due to varied cultural and social norms and life course differences.

Understanding how different groups tend to vary in attitudes and behaviors can help advocates know who is engaging in a behavior so that campaigns can be better targeted to those groups. Similarly, if an advocate is speaking to a specific audience, such as college students, it is helpful to understand what attitudes are prevalent among that specific group.

Thinking about segmentation can also inform the design of campaign materials and programs. An organization seeking to make changes as widely and

quickly as possible will want to orient all materials to the most receptive target; those campaigns seeking to change behaviors of a certain segment of the population (i.e. parents or adolescents) will need to focus materials on that specific group. Campaigns located in a specific area will want to focus efforts in a manner that speaks to the demographics and interests in that area.

Program Evaluation. It is not enough to think that a campaign is having an effect; you need to *know* its impact. No organization should divert resources to a project or literature or programs that are not changing minds or behaviors. Before literature is produced, its impact should be examined; after programs are instituted, their effect should be studied. This type of research is more in depth and can seem difficult for animal protection organizations to engage in, especially those with few resources, but there are easy and free options for advocates.

In terms of literature and other campaign materials, there are smart ways to prepare them in the most effective way by seeking out research on the topic. There are many blog posts, articles and books that outline how to create more effective messages. In the first six months of 2011, HRC produced a number of such articles (e.g., Dillard, 2011; Ginsberg 2011a, 2011b; and Green 2011), and other scholars have written accessible books on the topic, including the aforementioned *Change of Heart*. See the *Appendix: Research Resources for Advocates* for a list of research resources and advice on how and when to use them.

Teaching and Sharing Information. Animal advocates need to develop ways to share information. Academics have classes, journals, and systems of housing and accessing those journals. Some examples of this currently exist within the animal advocacy community. Animal Rights conferences allow presenters to share information on specific topics and tactics. Making these available online will also be helpful. Teaching others and sharing knowledge can also be done on a smaller scale; rather than all advocates on a campaign researching the issues, different pieces of an issue can be researched and advocates can present the information they learned to the other members of their groups.

Research should also be warehoused. This is already done by some larger organizations. For example, the Animal Legal Defense Fund (ALDF) and the Animal

Legal and Historical Center collect and organize animal cruelty laws; ALDF also provides examples of model legislature on various issues. However, many types of advocate-oriented research is not saved or shared. For example, many local campaigns do a lot of research into local animal cruelty regulations, sound and zoning ordinances for protests, who are animal friendly council members, etc. Further, the process of organizing and engaging in a campaign is, in and of itself, research that should be documented, analyzed and shared. Some 'zines specific to campaigns or organizations do exist for this purpose, but there may be a way to develop something more collaborative and farther reaching. For example, a collection of people could develop and manage Wiki Space pages focusing on specific campaigns, topics, or tactics.

Animal advocates are a committed and industrious group dedicated to bettering the lives of others. What advocates need is not to work harder, but to work smarter. They can do this by accessing the many research resources available to improve and inform their work. Academics and researchers must do their part to engage in research that will be directly applicable to animals and animal advocacy and to make sure that that work gets into the hands of advocates.

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Appendix: Research Resources for Advocates

Following is a list of research resources that animal advocates might find helpful, along with explanations and advice on how to use them. These are just a starting point and there are many other resources available to animal advocates.

INTERNET SEARCH. A basic Internet search is an important starting place. It will introduce whether the issue is in the news media, what opponents think about the issue, if any animal protection organizations are addressing the issue, and any other basic knowledge on the topic.

There are a few important things to remember when conducting a search on the Internet. A variety of search terms should be used, including all formal, slang, or corporate terms for a topic. For example, don't just search for "faux meat," but search for "meat replacement," "vegetarian meat," "vegan meat," "wheat meat," "Boca," "Gardein," etc. Further, any related or specific words associated with a topic should be searched. For example, it is not enough to search for "rabbit," but "bunny," "hare" and "lagomorph" should also be searched.

Advocates should also look beyond the first page of search results. Many search engines organize links by popularity. Due to the small number of people engaged in animal protection work, it is safe to assume animal advocacy issues are generally less popular than other topics, so relevant results may be buried on the second or third pages.

GOOGLE SCHOLAR SEARCH: Research can be done to specifically locate academic work on a topic by visiting Google Scholar, which constrains results to academic publications. Though most journal articles are not accessible in full without access to a college library, following the links will typically show the article's abstract, which provides a brief summary of the study's goals, methods, and findings.

If one finds that academic articles are of particular use and they want to read a specific article or study in more detail, try contacting the author; many will provide a free copy of the article for personal use. Further, you can try contacting the local library. Some libraries in more affluent areas or college towns purchase services such as JSTOR, which is an online service that provides access to many academic journal articles.

If one knows of a book s/he would like to read, searching for them on Google Scholar is useful as well. Below the book in the search results there will be a link, "library search," and clicking on it will bring the advocate to a list of local libraries currently carrying the book.

FREE JOURNALS: There are a number of academic journals geared toward research about animals that operate on a non-profit model. This allows them to post articles in an open-access format so that everyone can have access without membership to college libraries. Society & Animals and the Journal for Critical Animal Studies post all content

online for free. There are also directories listing open access journals, though the major human-animal and critical animal studies journals are overlooked on these lists.⁴

WEBSITES OF LARGE ANIMAL PROTECTIONS ORGANIZATIONS: Major animal protection organizations in the United States and other countries maintain websites hosting a wealth of information. Organizations such as the HSUS (Humane Society of the United States) and PETA (People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals) have their own research staff, so basic information on facts about an issue can be easily obtained from their websites.

Before starting any campaign, advocates should also seek out large, issue-specific organizations, as they are likely to have even more comprehensive resources. For example, if one is looking into issues with exotic animals they can turn to Born Free USA. Since they are dedicated to wild and exotic animal issues, Born Free USA has compiled more information in this area than most other organizations. On their website, advocates can access detailed information on fur bearing animals, animals in zoos, animals in circuses, and any other exotic animal issue. They have also compiled a list of state laws addressing “owning” exotic animals, a list of incidents at AZA accredited zoos, research studies about the well-being of animals in zoos, a paper describing how the Endangered Species Act works, and the list goes on. Anyone wanting to start a campaign in their area should tap into the resources that other animal protection organizations have already collected.

HUMANESPOT.ORG: HumaneSpot.org is a website created by HRC with the explicit purpose of providing advocates with free access to research. In order to facilitate searches of relevant research, HRC has compiled a research database with academic journal articles, industry reports, and surveys. The database is searchable by animal-issue and/or key word. Each item is summarized in a few paragraphs to quickly identify if the resource is of interest, and we provide a link to more information or access to the full study.

HumaneSpot.org combines research findings that one might obtain from both an Internet search and a Google Scholar search, with the items hand-selected for animal advocates by HRC’s staff. HRC also provides a series of Research Primers. Research Primers are about 8 pages long and they summarize relevant and recent attitudinal and behavioral research on a topic. This is a quick way to learn about attitudes toward an issue. HRC makes a variety of other resources available for free, including research reports and survey results.

ATTITUDINAL/BEHAVIORAL RESEARCH: There are a number of resources directly relevant to conducting attitudinal research. In general, the iPoll⁵ databank hosts a list of U.S. opinion polls, searchable by topic, and some animal-related issues appear here. HRC

⁴ For a searchable directory see: Directory of Open Access Journals
<http://www.doaj.org/doaj?func=home&uiLanguage=en>; for a list of journals, organized by subject, see:
http://ucblibraries.colorado.edu/dean/peer_reviewed.htm.

⁵ iPoll: http://www.ropercenter.uconn.edu/data_access/ipoll/ipoll.html#.TileK786-4x

also conducts annual surveys including the Animal Tracker, regarding attitudes and behaviors of importance to animal advocates. The study findings are available for free on HumaneSpot.org.

In addition, HRC's related Visualization Tool allows advocates to access the data in the format of bar graphs. The feature is particularly useful for understanding segmentation and changes over time. With the click of a button, you can view results in graph format, by question and by the year in which the question was asked. You can also have the graph broken down by demographic characteristics, including gender, age, race/ethnicity, level of education, and whether there are companion animals in the home. Two graphs lay side by side so advocates can easily see and compare differences between groups.

LEGAL RESEARCH: Many campaigns should start with legal research, as there are often already laws that address the issue at hand. Two resources are dedicated to the task of compiling laws regarding animals. The Animal Legal Defense Fund (ALDF) produces a report of state level animal cruelty laws.⁶ The Animal Legal and Historical Center has a searchable database of laws.⁷ If the goal of a campaign is to pass legislation or change a law regarding animals, then ALDF is again a great place to start as they have compiled model legislation of various issues and topics.⁸

⁶ ALDF Law book: <http://www.aldf.org/article.php?id=259>

⁷ Animal Legal & Historical Center: <http://www.animallaw.info/>

⁸ ALDF Model legislature: <http://www.aldf.org/article.php?id=262>